2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly performed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was solemnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friendship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-no*, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NOo Comanche NO6

427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken 427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians 434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with 465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income. 464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut 465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the 434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I,

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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A doctor should never suggest that he could cure an individual but must wait for the individual to approach him. Again Sanapia states that a violation of this norm would be an indication on the part of the doctor that he, and only secondarily his Medicine, is the important element in the potential curing. 115 159 756

A doctor must be paid for any services he renders, no matter how slight. Similarly, a doctor cannot work his Medicine without payment. In the case of an eagle doctor, this applies even to family members. In addition, the payment, with the exception of certain relatively inexpensive ritual items (green cloth and tobacco) required at the first interview of doctor and patient, must be left to the discretion of the patient. A doctor cannot refuse anything which is offered in payment. Furthermore, Sanapia was instructed that she must immediately give away a portion of her final payment to anyone in her immediate vicinity at the time of payment. This "give away" is a means by which Sanapia honors her Medicine. 115 159 756 465 [431]

> And one thing, when they come to me . . . anybody comes to me and say, "I want you to doctor me," bring plain goods, no figure or nothing. Dark green goods. They have to take that and smoke and they going to give me that green goods. Either a yard or two or three or four yards like that. That's the only thing I ask for. And they say, "Now what else we going to pay you when you get this boy, this girl, this woman, this man well?" I say, "That's what I call for . . . just the green goods. And if he gets well or she gets well, its up to you. If you think I get that person well, its up to you." But I'm not going to say I want this and that and that and I want so much money. I'm not going to say that because that's what my mother told me. She said, "Don't you ever ask for anything. Its going to be given to you. I don't care what anybody says, its going to come to you." Now, up to today, when anybody give to me . . . give me blanket or any kind of goods . . . I ain't supposed to keep it. It be like somebody come here and I doctor them and they get well and they come in and pile things up here for me and those girls are out there. I call them and say, "Here, you all. Take you choice out of this." And whatever they leave, that's mine. And that's the way I get all my things today and that was my mother's words . . . what she told me to do.

Origin of Eagle Doctors

It was also during this period of training that Sanapia was told the origin story of the Comanche eagle doctors.

> Way back in years there used to be an old woman who was pretty poor. She had a grandson she tried her best to take care of because all her children were gone and all that was left was this grandson. When them people moved their camps, she used to trail behind them. When they set up another camp, the old woman would camp right outside on the edge of that camp place. Sometimes people, mens, brought them food, meat, you know. But most times they were poor and hungry. And it went on and went on till one time they were all down south and west among them Navajo and Pueblo peoples. They was all trading each other. Meat and blankets for corn and meal and things. One Comanche young man got a whole pile of that corn meal and brought it to the old woman. That's the only way they could get that stuff them days. The grandson was happy over that, you know, over that young man bringing those things and helping 756 773

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775 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have
154 voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek
756 Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the [165] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient. [165] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing
756 to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing
391 should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present
376 to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The
775 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on
756 Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers,
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[195]
[514]

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Ritual payments: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison-advisor. This approach ritual payment consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches

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775 smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremonially, it was
756 an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker" (1952:
276 180). After Sanapia has taken the cigarette, thus agreeing to the contract, the
775 patient places the green cloth in front of her and lays the Bull Durham and the
756 corn shuck leaves on the cloth.
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Sanapia states that the requirement of the piece of dark green cloth follows from the nature of the major medicine which she employs in the treatment of ghost sickness. This type of payment can no doubt be connected with the ritual involved in her collection of *bekwinatu*, or "swelling medicine." It is necessary for Sanapia to pay the plant with a piece of green cloth before extracting it from the earth.

> The medicine I use, that swelling medicine, got green leaves. The cloth goes with that. That's what the meaning of the dark green goods supposed to be. It stand for that, you might say. That kind of medicine get them well and they paying for it.

775 When Sanapia has accepted the cigarettte and taken the required four
756 puffs, she says to the patient, "Tell me your troubles." The patient then begins
755 to inform Sanapia of the specific reasons that he has sought her aid and generally to unburden himself concerning any and all varieties of "trouble" which he is experiencing. According to Sanapia, this patient monologue can continue for several hours. It is during this outpouring that Sanapia makes her diagnosis or decides exactly what course of action she will pursue regarding the patient.

Sanapia's doctoring ethics forbid her to divulge anything about which a patient has spoken to her. Many of Sanapia's expatients were aware of this fact or were advised of it by their liaisons, and they mentioned "how good it was to talk to that old lady." The patient has a rare opportunity to speak to an old and therefore, it is assumed, wise woman and to know that her supernatural sanctions forbid her to repeat anything she has been told. They are able to gain the counsel of a woman who has had many years experience in listening to these confidential disclosures. The patient also knows that because of the nature of the doctor–patient relationship, Sanapia will only pity him and offer sympathy. It would be considered impolite and improper if Sanapia censured her patient for anything he might say during his monologue.

> What they tell me I ain't supposed to tell anybody. It is so sad sometimes to listen to them. They say horrible things sometimes, but I guess that's because they sick peoples. But they come here and I can get them well. I've helped many people that way.

The psychotherapeutic tenor of Sanapia's doctoring is illustrated by the fact that she bases her diagnosis upon the nature of the emotional ventilation of the patient during his rambling monologue. She does not recognize that she bases her diagnosis on the content of the patient's disclosures but only that she makes her diagnosis after this occurrence. However, it is obvious from the material

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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account:

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from

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$25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them . . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *puhakut* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not